Post-predicate constituents in Kurdish

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1 Introduction

In Kurdish, as in all other attested Iranian languages, a direct object that is a lexical noun phrase (as opposed to a pronoun) will generally precede its governing verb; I will abbreviate this configuration as 'OV' henceforth. Although Kurdish is regularly characterized as an 'OV' language, several types of constituent regularly occur in post-predicate position. This chapter examines the nature of post-predicate constituents in Kurdish, maps their areal distribution, and engages with theoretical explanations for the unusual word-order properties of Kurdish, from a typological and from a diachronic perspective.

Post-predicate placement of certain non-direct-object constituents is actually characteristic of much of West Iranian (see e.g. Frommer 1981 on spoken Persian, and Haig 2014, 2017, Stilo 2018 for overviews). The evidence to date, however, suggests that Kurdish is among the languages with the strongest propensity for post-predicate arguments. Furthermore, in Kurdish, post-predicate position is syntactically fixed, and cannot be accounted for in terms of pragmatically-driven scrambling or stylistic variation (factors that are regularly invoked to account for post-predicate elements in Persian). Word order in Kurdish is thus qualitatively different from just OV. Rather, we are dealing with the typologically unusual OVX type of word order, whereby the nature of the post-verbal 'X' varies across different varieties of Kurdish, as we shall see.

This chapter exploits the potential made available through the Database of Kurdish Dialects (Matras et al 2016, henceforth DKD) in mapping the areal distribution of post-predicate

elements, but draws on additional material where appropriate. In Section 2, the syntactic nature of post-predicate syntax in Kurdish is illustrated, drawing on the analysis of a single dialect, the Behdinî variety of Northern Kurdish, as spoken in the Iraqi Kurdistan township of Duhok. In Section 3, I present data from the DKD, contrasting the syntactic position of Goals of motion and caused motion with other kinds of constituent. The evidence suggests that post-predicate syntax is associated with the semantics of 'endpoints', typically Goals but also Recipients and Addressees.[1] Section 4 contains a finer-grained investigation of the syntax of Addressees, considering both position and flagging. Section 5 considers the two lines of explanation in contemporary syntax, Hawkins' (2007, 2008) processing-based account, and the Minimalist-inspired Final-over-Final-Contraint (Biberauer 2017), and assesses the viability of the diachronic explanation of Nikitina (2011). Section 6 presents some proposals of how OVX order in Kurdish developed, while Section 7 summarizes the main findings.

2 Post-predicate elements in the Duhok variety of Northern Kurdish

This section addresses the question of whether post-predicate constituents are syntactically derived, i.e. whether we need to identify a specific post-predicate position for Kurdish syntax, or whether we can account for post-predicate position in terms of post-syntactic pragmatically-determined movement of some kind. The question is relevant because for Persian, the only other West Iranian language that has been systematically investigated in this respect, it is claimed that post-predicate position is pragmatically driven, and primarily a matter of spoken informal registers (Lazard 2006: 183, 194-196, Roberts 2009: 146). On this account, Persian is basically verb final, with some rightward leakage under certain pragmatic conditions. This conclusion fails to account for the high frequencies of certain post-predicate constitutents in spoken Persian (near categorical, for example, with the verb *gozâštan* 'put', see Frommer 1981: 133, Haig 2017), which militate against an explanation in terms of pragmatic markedness. Nevertheless, it remains true that in Persian, for most of the relevant constituents a pre-predicate position is generally available as a possible option. In other words, post-predicate position is not grammatically obligatory.

In Kurdish, however, post-predicate position of certain constituents appears to be grammatically obligatory. We illustrate this with data from the Northern Kurdish spoken in the

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[1] For a recent Minimalist approach to post-verbal constituents in Kurmanji Kurdish, based primarily on the Muş dialect of Kurmanjî and framed in terms of event-structure mappings to syntax, see now Gündoğdu (2017, 2018).

Iraqi Kurdistan township of Duhok. This variety belongs to the Behdinî group of southeastern Kurmanjî (Öpengin and Haig 2014); the data are based on the speech of an educated female native speaker, whose first language is Kurmanjî, but who also has acquired Arabic in an educational setting (see Haig and Mustafa, to appear, on the language situation in Duhok). I refer to this dialect as Dohuk Kurmanjî. While we cannot assume that the facts of Duhok Kurmanjî will necessarily apply in other varieties of Kurdish, they do provide us with a benchmark for considering the phenomenon in other varieties, and given the space restrictions here, must suffice for present purposes.

In Duhok Kurmanjî, the following constituent types regularly occur in post-predicate position:

1. Goals and directions of verbs of motion,
2. Goals and directions of verbs of caused motion
3. Recipients of the verb *dan* 'give'
4. Addressees of *gotin* 'say, tell'
5. Final states of predicates of change of state, e.g. 'become, turn into'
6. Some LVC's (Light Verb Complements) of the light verb *kirin* 'do'.

The following sections illustrate these six types, with the relevant constituents in bold type.

2.1 Goals of verbs of motion
The normal order for rendering the clause 'Yesterday I went **to Duhok'** is shown in (1). The Goal argument, *Duhok*, is in the feminine oblique, with no adposition, and occurs immediately after the predicate. The predicate[2] takes the directional clitic =*e* [æ], historically a reflex of a preposition that originally preceded the post-predicate argument, but has leftwards-cliticized to the predicate (still visible as a preposition (*w)a* in dialects of Gorani, Mahmoudveysi et al 2012: 52-57, or *be/ba* in Central Kurdish, illustrated in (15) below)**.**

(1) *Dihî*   *ez*   *čû-bû-m=e*   **Duhok-ê**

     Yesterday   1SG   go.PST-PLPRF-1SG=DRCT   Duhok-F.OBL

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[2] Note that the simple past tense in Duhok variety is frequently rendered with what appears to be a pluperfect, though it does not have pluperfect sense here.

The Goal argument cannot be separated from the verb by the adverb (2):

(2) *Ez*   *čû-bû-m=e*   *dihî*   **Duhok-ê**
     1SG   go.PST-PLPRF-1SG=DRCT   yesterday   Duhok-F.OBL

The placement of other arguments is relatively flexible (3a, 3b), but they cannot intervene between Goal and verb (3c):

(3a) *ez*   *čû-bû-m=e*   **Duhok-ê**   *[digel*   *deyk-a*   *xwe]*
      I   go.PST-PLPRF-1SG=DRCT   Duhok-F.OBL   with   mother-F.EZ   REFL
      'I went to Duhok [with my mother]'

(3b) *ez*   *[digel*   *deyk-a*   *xwe]*   *čû-bû-m=e*   **Duhok-ê**
      I   with   mother-F.EZ   REFL   go.PST-PLPRF-1SG=DRCT   Duhok-F.OBL

(3c) **ez čûbûme [digel deyka xwe]* **Duhokê**

Nor can the goal argument be moved in front of the verb (4):

(4) **Dihî*   *ez*   **Duhok-ê**   *čû-bû-m-e*
     Yesterday   I   Duhok-F.OBL   go.PST-PLPRF-1SG=DRCT

The post-predicate position is also mandatory for Goals that are in focus:

(5) In response the question: **What** are you **doing** (*Tu či di-ke-y?*):

     Em   *dê*   *č-în=e*   **Duhok-ê**
     1PL   FUT   go.PRS-1PL-DRCT   Duhok-F.OBL
     'We are going to Dohuk'

Furthermore, the position of the Goal argument remains unchanged if the clause is embedded under a matrix verb like 'say' or 'believe', or is in a relative clause. The only exception to the post-predicate position appears to be when the Goal argument is questioned. It seems that the corresponding interrogative pronoun can be fronted (though this is optional)[3] with verbs of motion. For the other predicate types discussed in sections 2.2-2.6, WH-forms generally remain *in situ* after the predicate, though I have not checked the grammaticality of all the possibilities.

(6)   *tu*   *kîve*   *di-č-î*   /   *tu di-č-î kîve?*

         2SG   where   IND-go.PRS-2SG

         'Where are you going?'

In sum, Goals of verbs of motion occur rigidly rightward of the predicate, and cannot be separated from it by other constituents (there may be clitics that interrupt the sequence; this remains to be investigated).

2.2   Goals with verbs of caused motion

This class involves transitive predicates such as 'put', 'lay' etc., which require two non-subject arguments, a Theme and a Goal. Kurmanjî always assigns the theme to the direct object role, hence it takes the Oblique case, at least when the verb is based on the present stem. With verbs based on the past-stem, case-marking shifts to ergative alignment and the object receives the direct case (Haig 2017: 475-481 for a recent overview and references). Ergative alignment is irrelevant in the present context. The important point is that regardless of tense, the direct object is non-adpositional, and I am not aware of any differences in word order that could be correlated with different alignments. Thus for the sake of exposition I continue to refer to direct objects in the Oblique case.

The Goal may be either also in the Oblique case, with no adposition, or be inside an adpositional phrase. The possibilities for post-predicate adpositional phrases are quite restricted in other varieties of Kurmanjî, but in Dohuk variety a fair number of possibilities are available.

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[3] Interestingly, fronting does not cross the subject position to the clause-initial position, i.e. in generative terms the WH-element does not raise to Spec of CP, as is generally assumed for English and other languages with WH-movement. I leave the implications of this kind of WH-movement for future research.

But regardless of the flagging (Oblique case or adposition), the Goal is invariably post-predicate. The following examples illustrate the possibilities, starting with a WH-placement and focus in (7) and (8), while (9) illustrates the ungrammatical orderings:

(7) *Te*   *nan*   *kir=e*   **di**   **kîve**   **da?**
     2SG.OBL   bread   do.PST=DRCT   ADP   where   ADP
     '**Where** did you put the bread?'

(8) *min*   *nan*   *kir=e*   **di**   **firin-ê**   **da**
     1SG.OBL   bread   do.PST=DRCT   ADP   oven-F.OBL   ADP
     'I put the bread **into the oven**'

(9) *min kire nan **di firinê da** / *min nan **di firinê da** kir*

Again, what was stated above regarding the position of the Goal under embedding or in a relative clause, also holds for the goal of verbs of caused motion: post-predicate position remains unaffected.

2.3   Recipients of *dan* 'give'

This verb likewise involves two non-subject arguments, and again, the Theme is invariably in the Oblique case with present-tense verbs. The Recipient, however, is always in the Oblique case, without an adposition. Positionally, however, essentially the same set of principles described above for spatial goals also apply to Recipients of 'give'. Note that with this verb, the directional clitic on the verb has a unique form, *=ev,[4]* and the Theme *pare* 'money' in (10) and (11) is treated as plural with regard to agreement.

(10) *Te*   *pare*   *da-n=ev*   *kê?*
     2SG.OBL   money(PL)   give.PST-PL=DRCT   who.OBL
     '**Who** did you give the money to?'

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[4] The fina [-v] of the directional particle may be devoiced. As noted above, I assume the directional particle is a reflex of a preposition **wa* (or similar). Possibly the glide part of this was retained with the verb *dan* 'give', yielding the current [-v], perhaps due to the high frequency of the verb and its almost canonical association with a following recipient argument; this remains speculative.

(11) *Min*   *pare*   *da-n=ev*   **Majid-î**

     1SG.OBL   money(PL)   give.PST-PL=DRCT   Majid-M.OBL

     'I gave the money to **Majid**'

2.4 Addressees of 'say' *gotin*

The addressee of *gotin* is treated essentially analogously to the recipient of *dan* 'give', except that a preposition *bo* 'to, for' may also be used with the addressee, which is not generally possible with *dan*:

(12) *Min*   *got=e*   *Majid-î*   /   *bo*   *Majid-î*

     1SG.OBL   say.PST=DRCT   Majid=M.OBL   ADP   Majid=M.OBL

     'I said to Majid'

2.5 Final state complements of inchoative 'become' (*bûn*)

The copular verb *bûn* has two senses: equative and attributive 'be', and inchoative 'become'. The two senses are formally distinguished, both morphologically and syntactically. Morphologically, inchoative *bûn* is a full verb, with both a past and present stem (*bû, -b-* e.g. *bûm, dibim* 'I became, become', while copular *bûn* is defective in the present indicative, where it lacks any segmental expression of the stem and is reduced to a clitic version of the respective person suffix (*kurd=**im*** 'I am Kurdish, a Kurd'). The morphological distinction between inchoative and copular *bûn* is neutralized outside of the present indicative. Syntactically, however, a distinction is maintained. The complement of inchoative *bûn* is obligatorily in post-verbal position, and the verb takes the directional clitic. The difference between inchoative (13) and copular form (14) is illustrated below.

(13) *Ez*   *li*   *2010ê*   *bû-m=e*   **mamosta**

     1SG   in   2010.F.OBL   become.PST-1SG=DRCT   teacher

     'In 2010 I became a teacher' (e.g. I graduated, began working as a teacher)

(14) *Ez*   *li*   *2010ê*   **mamosta**   *bû-m*

     1SG   in   2010.F.OBL   teacher   be.PST-1SG

'In 2010 I was a teacher' (e.g. I was working at that time as a teacher)

With regard to the position of the inchoative complement in (13), the same restrictions apply as above to Goals: it is rigidly rightward of the predicate, and cannot be separated from it. Note that final state complements of 'become' are likewise found in Sorani, where they involve a preposition *be/ba*, presumably the origin of the Kurmanjî directional particle:

(15) *bard*   *bū*   **ba**   *qatra=y*   *āw*
      stone   become.PST.3SG   ADP   drop = EZ   water
      'The stone turned to **a drop of water**' (Sorani, Suleimaniye dialect, MacKenzie 1962:62, transcription and translation original, glosses added)

Generally, the post-predicate placement of final states appears to be widespread across the entirety of Kurdish, though apparently lacking in the Tunceli variety of Kurmanjî (Haig 2006: 291). I am unaware of other research dedicated to this issue, and will not pursue it further here.

2.6 Light verb complements

Duhok Kurmanjî requires post-predicate position of a small number of light verb complements, in combination with the verb *kirin* 'do, put'. In this construction, the light verb carries the directional clitic. Examples (16 a-c) are illustrative (note the southeastern Kurmanjî progressive form, using an ezafe particle, see Haig 2018 for discussion and references):

(16) a.   *Ez*   *yê*   *di-ke-m = e*   *xar*
           1SG   EZ.M   IND-do.PRS-1SG = DRCT   running
           'I am running'

      b.   *Ez yê di-ke-m = e kenî*   'I am laughing'

      c.   *Ez yê di-ke-m = e girî*   'I am crying'

2.7 Summary of post-predicate elements in Duhok Kurmanjî

Two main facts emerge from the preceding data. First, the post-predicate position must be considered a structural position in Kurmanjî, fully incorporated into the clause and associated with distinct morphology (e.g. oblique case, the directional clitic on the verb) rather than the secondary result of some kind of pragmatically-driven movement. While this does not pose a major problem for the intransitive verbs of motion illustrated in 2.1, it raises intriguing issues for the transitive verbs of caused motion and transfer of possession in 2.2 and 2.3. For these, we are obliged to assume that the VP (or whichever governing node is considered relevant) has opposing branching directionality for its two complements (Theme and Recipient or Goal). Second, the elements that enter this position cannot be readily accounted for by any of the conventional categories assumed in derivational syntax models (Mainstream Generative Grammar, or LFG, for example). They cannot be associated with a particular Grammatical Function (e.g. 'indirect object'), because the construction cuts across the transitive/intransitive divide. There is nevertheless an obvious semantic generalization that can be drawn regarding post-predicate elements: they are all associated with the semantic concept of 'endpoint of a change of location, or state' (though the purely semantic approach is too strong; we need to exclude from it the direct objects of transitive verbs, and it is also not entirely clear how it covers the Light Verb Complements of Section 2.6). But for the immediate descriptive purposes, the identification of post-predicate position with endpoints (or intended endpoints) of changes of state or location is sufficient. We address the theoretical issues in Section 5 below.

3 The areal distribution of post-predicate constituents in Kurdish

Section 2 has established a connection between constituents expressing endpoints (but excluding direct objects), and the post-predicate position. In this section we consider the areal distribution of post-predicate constituents across Kurdish. Three questions are at stake: (i) is post-predicate position restricted to endpoint-constituents in other varieties of Kurdish, or does it extend to other kinds of constituent? (ii) Do the varieties of Kurdish exhibit variation in the range of endpoint-constituents that are placed in post-predicate position? (iii) What other structural features correlate with the linear postition of the relevant constituents?

In Section 3.1 we consider two types of constituents that do not involve endpoint semantics. First, expressions of static location, with no implication of movement, ('in, at, beside' etc.),

henceforth abbreviated PLACE. Second, non-local constituents such as Instrument, Comitative etc., henceforth abbreviated OBLIQUE. In Section 3.2 we then take a look at different kinds of endpoint-constituents: Goals, Recipients and Addressees. Representative data for change-of-state predicates are not available in the DKD, so I will not consider them here.

3.1   PLACE and OBLIQUE constituents in the DKD

The DKD includes seven clauses containing PLACE constituents, provided in (17) below, with PLACE constituents in bold type (copular clauses with PLACE are discussed in §3.1):

(17)   Sentences containing PLACE constituents in the DKD

*Azad wanted to sing **at the wedding***.

*Every year hundreds of civilians are killed **in Iraq***.

*I live **in this village***.

*I stayed **in Mosul***.

*I studied **in Kerkuk***.

*That book that he had bought **in Diyarbakir** ...*

*The people that we met **at the market** ...*

Plotting the position of PLACE constituents with respect to the predicate yields Fig. 1. In creating the map, and all subsequent ones in this chapter, the following principles were adopted. First of all, we need to address the fact that data coverage is not even across all locations in the DKD, i.e. not all of the test sentences given in (17) have a corresponding translation at all locations (in some cases, the sentence is simply missing for that location, in others it is not analyzable for various reasons). The policy for the maps has been to include only those locations that have at least 50% of the relevant sentences. This means that some locations from the DKD are excluded from some maps, because they lack 50% coverage of the relevant sentences. For example, with regard to the seven PLACE sentences in (17) above, any location that only has three or fewer of these sentences is excluded from the map. This ensures that only those locations are included that have a reasonably representative data spread in the relevant category.

The assignment of colour coding is then based on the actual number of sentences available at a given data point, and distinguishes just three levels: black signifies at least 50% post-predicate

position among the attested sentences at that point, grey indicates even numbers of post- and pre-predicate positions, while white indicates less than 50% post-predicate position. Taking the PLACE sentences above once again as an example: if a given location is represented by six test sentences, and four are in post-predicate position, then it will receive a black point. If a given test point is represented by five test sentences, and two are in post-predicate position, it will be coded as white. Obviously this level of granularity is exceedingly coarse, but sufficient for identifying major trends. Given the uneven level of data coverage, and the small number of sample sentences relevant for each constituent type, this appears to be justified (the raw data are available on request).
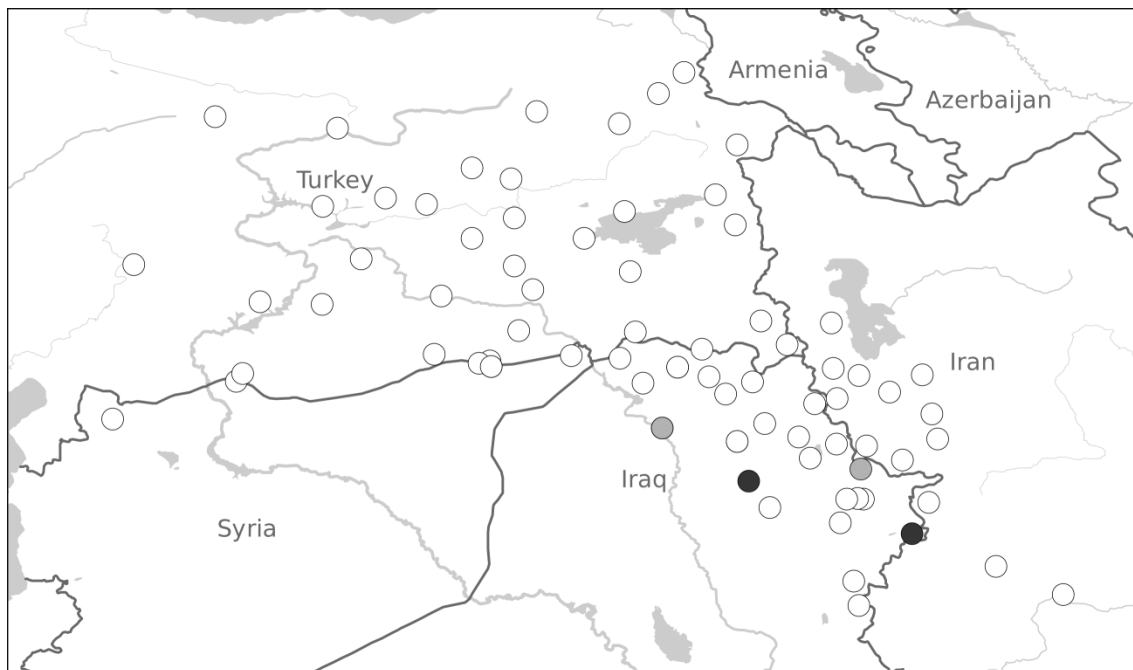

Fig. 1: Post-predicate PLACE constituents in the DKD (Matras et al 2016), based on the test sentences in (17)

It is apparent that for the majority locations, PLACE arguments occur pre-predicatively. Nevertheless, some locations in the southern periphery of the Kurdish speech zone in Iraq evidently permit post-predicate place arguments to varying degrees; these are discussed below.

Second, I investigate the position of non-local OBLIQUEs. There are only four test clauses with such constituents, all of which involved some kind of Comitative. They are provided in (18):

(18) Sentences with OBLIQUE constituents in the DKD

    *I played **with my nephew.***

    *I play **with my nephew** every day.*

    *I work **with my uncle.***

    *The woman always laughs **at the children.***

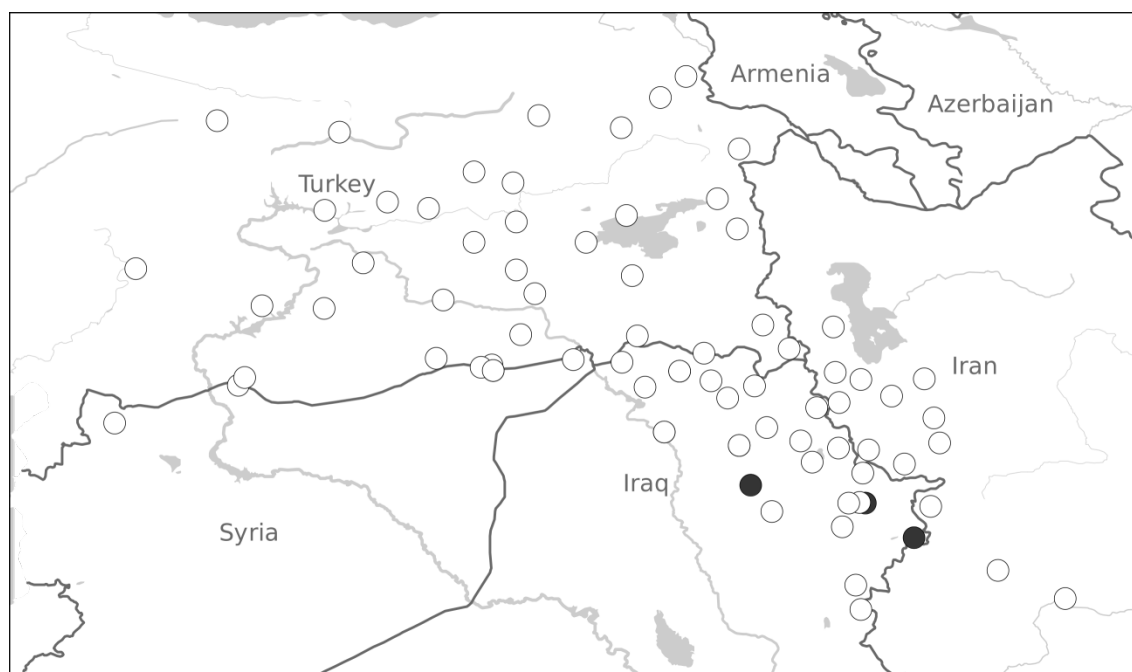The results are shown in Fig. 2, which was constructed on the same principles as outlined above for Fig. 1:

Fig. 2: Post-predicate non-local OBLIQUE constituents in the DKD (Matras et al 2016), based on the test sentences in (18)

The results from Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 for PLACE, and for non-local OBLIQUE respectively, are very similar. Pre-predicate placement is the dominant option, with the exception of a small number of data points in Iraq. As was the case with the PLACE, these post-verbal OBLIQUEs all occur in varieties of Central Kurdish.

For illustrative purposes I have selected two locations, both of which are well-represented in the data (i.e. have few gaps): Halabja [SO56], and Altun Kopru [SO73] in order to illustrate the post-predicate position of PLACE and OBLIQUE constituents (glosses simplified).

Post-predicate PLACE:

(19) *min*   *êjim*   **lem**   **gunde**

     1SG   live.PRS.1SG   in.this   village.DEM

     'I live **in this village' (**Halabja [SO56])

(20) *[...]*   *ke*   *goranî*   *bełê*   **lew**   **ḥeflê**

     [...]   that   song   sing.SUBJ.3SG   at.that   wedding

     '[Azad wants] to sing **at the wedding' (**Altun Kopru [SO73])

Post-predicate OBLIQUE:

(21) *min*   *yarî*   *ekim*   **le_geł**   **[...] brazakanim**

     1SG   playing   do.PRS.1SG   with   my.nephew

     'I play **with my nephew**' **(**Halabja [SO56])

(22) *kar*   *ekem*   *ligeł*   *mamim*

     work   do.PRS.1SG   with   my.uncle

     'I work **with my uncle**'   (Altun Kopru [SO73])

In these two varieties, post-predicate placement of PLACE and OBLIQUE constituents is fairly consistent in the test sentences. One might wish to conclude that these varieties have extended post-predicate placement from Goals etc. to include other kinds of constituent. However, the post-predicate placement of PLACE etc. is not a categorical rule in either variety, as shown by examples such as the following, from the respective free speech samples. (23) shows a pre-predicate PLACE, while (24) illustrates a pre-predicate OBLIQUE:

(23) *Bo_nimûne*   *ême*   *nemantuwanî*   **le**   **mecmû ʕe**   *danîşîn*

For.example   1PL   not.1PL.can.PST   in.this   village.DEM   stay.PRS.SUBJ.1PL

'For example we could not stay **in the community**' [Halabja, free speech; 9]

(24)   *Be*   *tayrî*   *seyare＝w*   **ṣitane**   **yarî＝man**   *ekird*

      with   tyres.of   car＝and   things   playing＝1PL   do.PST.IMPF

      'We played **with car tyres** and things like that' [Altun Kopru, free speech; 42]

Furthermore, in copular clauses, PLACE constituents are consistently pre-predicate, and this appears to hold for all varieties of Kurdish (ignoring the innovated copula construction in Behdinî, Haig 2011). Thus in Halabja:

(25)   *Kitabekê*   **le̲ser**   **myêzeke**   *ye*

      book.DEF   on   table.DEF   COP.PRS.3SG

      'The book is **on the table' (**Halabja [SO56])

To summarize, for both PLACE and OBLIQUE, all varieties allow pre-predicate position, and in the vast majority of varieties sampled, this is the overwhelmingly preferred option. A small group of Central Kurdish varieties apparently also allow, or even prefer, post-predicate PLACE and OBLIQUEs (cf. (19)-(22) above). However, even these varieties evidently permit pre-predicate positioning, so that we cannot assume that post-predicate position has been generalized beyond the endpoint arguments outlined in Section 2. In general, we can assume that PLACE and OBLIQUE arguments are less tightly bound to the verb's argument structure, and may therefore have more freedom vis-à-vis position relative to the predicate. Nevertheless, the overall preference evident in the DKD data supports the assumption of pre-predicate position as the unmarked option for non-endpoint constituents.

3.2   Goals of verbs of (caused) motion in the DKD

The results for GOALs of verbs of motion and caused motion are quite different to those of PLACE and OBLIQUE. The sample sentences of the DKD include a number of such clauses. Under (26) and (27) the test sentences for verbs of motion and verbs of caused motion respectively are listed. Only sentences involving non-human GOALs were considered:

(26)   Sentences with Goal constituents of verbs of motion in the DKD

*If I had known that you would not come **to the wedding**, I would not have gone there either.*

*If it hadn't rained yesterday, we would go **to the park***

*He went **to Arbil***

*The bus arrived **in Van***

*I wanted to go **to Batman***

*I didn't go **to the town***

(27)   Sentences with Goal constituents of verbs of caused motion in the DKD

*He always spills the water **on the floor***

*I brought the food **to the room***

*The woman moved a box **into the house**.*

*The woman pushed the cart **into the house**.*

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the findings for Goals of motion (26) and caused motion (27) respectively.

Fig. 3: Post-predicate Goals of verbs of motion in the DKD (Matras et al 2016), based on the test sentences in (26)
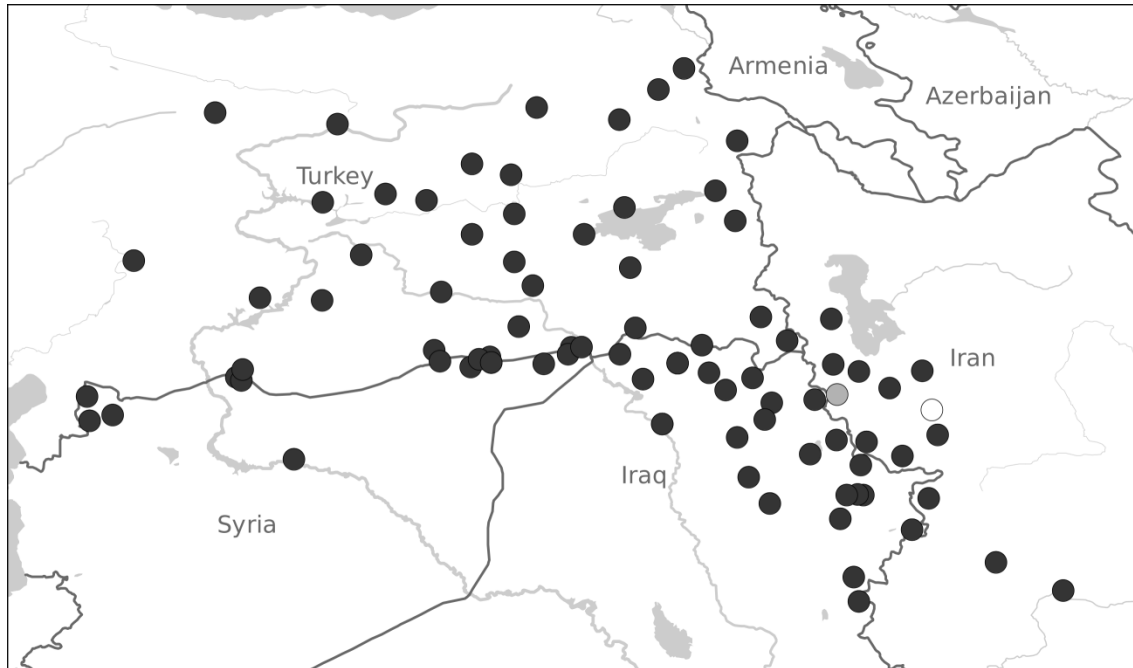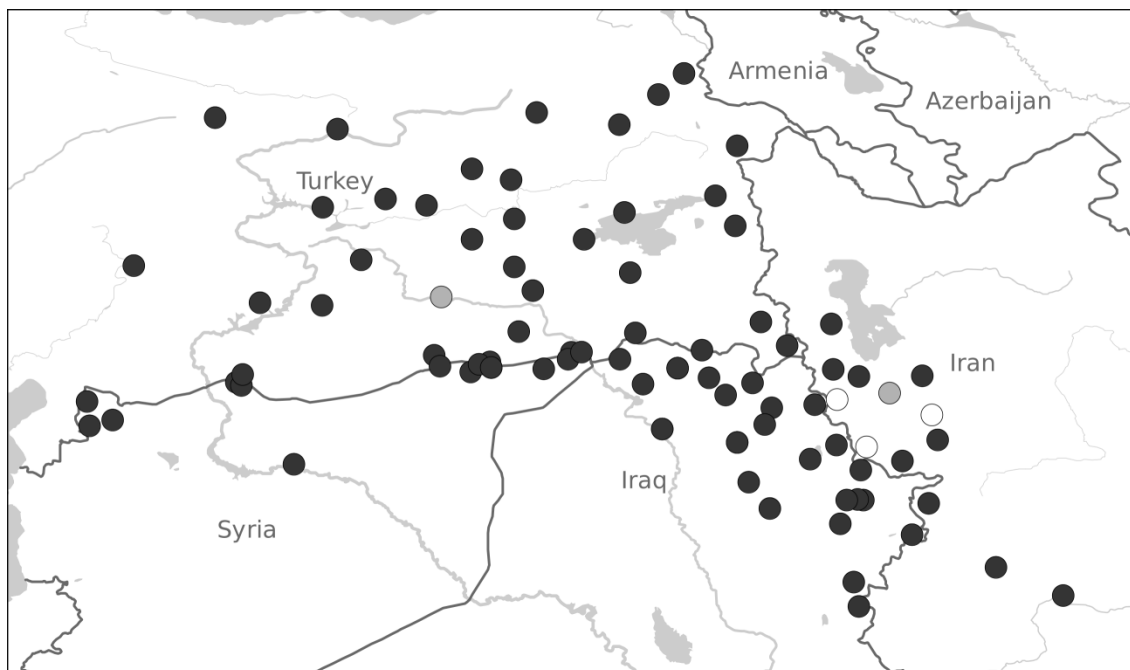

Fig. 4: Post-predicate Goals of verbs of caused motion in the DKD (Matras et al 2016), based on the test sentences in (27)

3.2.1 Discussion

For both simple and caused motion, the overall picture is very similar: Goals are overwhelmingly post-predicate. The sole exceptions to this generalization are localized in a couple of data points in Iran, the two most conspicuous being SO31 Piranšahr, and SO37 Bukan. The following illustrate test sentences from these locations:

(28) *ew*   ***bo***   ***erbîl***   *çû*

       he   to   Arbil   go.PST.3SG

       'He went to Arbil' [SO31, Piranšahr]

(29) *ew*   ***bo***   ***Hewlêr***   *çû*

       he   to   Arbil   go.PST.3SG

       'He went to Arbil' [SO37, Bukan]

(30) *emin*   *çeşt=im*   ***bo***   ***wetaẋ*** *bird*

       I   food=1SG   to   room   bring.PST.3SG

       'I brought the food to the room' [SO31, Piranšahr]

(31) *min*   *çêşt-eke=im*   **bo**   **jûr-eke-y**   *xom*   *bird*

      I   food-DEF=1SG   to   room-DEF-of   SELF.1SG   bring.PST.3SG

      'I brought the food to the (here: 'my') room' [SO37, Bukan]

Although the test sentences suggest that for Bukan, pre-predicate position is the norm, examples with post-predicate GOALs are found in the free speech from this location:

(32) *min*   *çû-m-e*   **layî**   **maŧ-î / maŧî bawkî**

      I   go.PST-1SG-DRCT   to   house-of / house-of father-POSS.3SG

      'I went to the house of, the house of her father'

      [SO37, Bukan, free speech, sentence 22]

The free speech sample for Piranšahr does not contain any unambiguous examples of Goals, so we cannot judge how representative examples (28) and (30) really are. It is possible that the prevalence of pre-predicate Goals in these locations is an artefact of using standard Persian as the language of elicitation, which may have triggered pre-predicate position, but this remains speculative. For Bukan at least, the free speech sample suffices to confirm that the pre-predicate position illustrated in the translation-task sentences of (27) is not the only option. Why the speaker should have produced consistent pre-predicate Goals in response to the DKD translation task remains a puzzle.

3.3   Recipients of 'give'

The final type of constituent to consider are Recipients of verbs of 'give', which in Kurdish are expressed through cognates of a verb *dan* 'give'. The pool of sample sentences in the DKD only contains two relevant examples, both of which involve pronominal recipients:

(33) Sentences with Recipients of 'give' in the DKD

      He didn't give it to me.

      I didn't give it to him.

Due to the complexities in the placement rules for clitic pronouns in Central Kurdish (see Öpengin & Rad, this volume), this type of clause is not suitable for establishing the word-order

of Recipients, thus the survey was restricted to Northern Kurdish only. The results are quite monotonous, and need not be mapped: all varieties place the Recipient argument after the predicate.[5]

3.4 Preliminary conclusion

With the exception of two locations in Iran, post-predicate position of Goals is the norm throughout Kurdish. Even allowing for some degree of flexibility, it is evident that Goals behave syntactically significantly differently to other types of non-direct object constituents such as PLACE and OBLIQUE, and this tendency is by and large consistent across the entirety of Kurdish (contrast for example Figs. 1 and 2 with Figs. 3 and 4). We can conclude that the 'X' position in OVX order of Kurdish is not associated with just any kind of non-direct object argument, but is specifically linked to some notion of endpoint (destination or movement, but also recipient in a transfer of possession), and this appears to characterize the entirety of Kurdish.

4   Addressees of 'say/tell'

4.1   Word order of Addressees in Northern Kurdish

Previous work (Haig 2014, 2017) indicates that one of the structural isoglosses within Kurdish concerns the treatment of the Addressee of 'say, tell'. Across all of Kurdish this is expressed through a cognate verb (though with varying suppletive present-stems). Thus in Northern Kurdish we have a past stem *got-*, in Central Kurdish *gut-/kut-* (Mukri, Öpengin 2016: 288), or *wut-* etc. I will refer to these forms collectively with SAY/TELL. In the DKD, the only sample sentences involving this verb have pronominal Addressees, so in Central and Southern Kurdish similar issues arise with regard to clitic pronoun placement that were discussed above for 'give'. For this reason, in this section I only consider the placement possibilities for Northern Kurdish based on the DKD, but I discuss Central Kurdish below, based on other sources. The test sentences used are provided in (34), and Fig. 5 illustrates the position of these Addressees vis-á-vis the predicate.

(34)   Sentences with Addressees of 'say/tell' in the DKD

   *I told it **to you***

---

[5] The only exception is KO16, but the sentence supplied (*nîša min neda*) does not seem to be a correct translation of the stimulus sentence 'He doesn't give it to me', and is thus ignored here.

*She told **me***

*I said **to him***

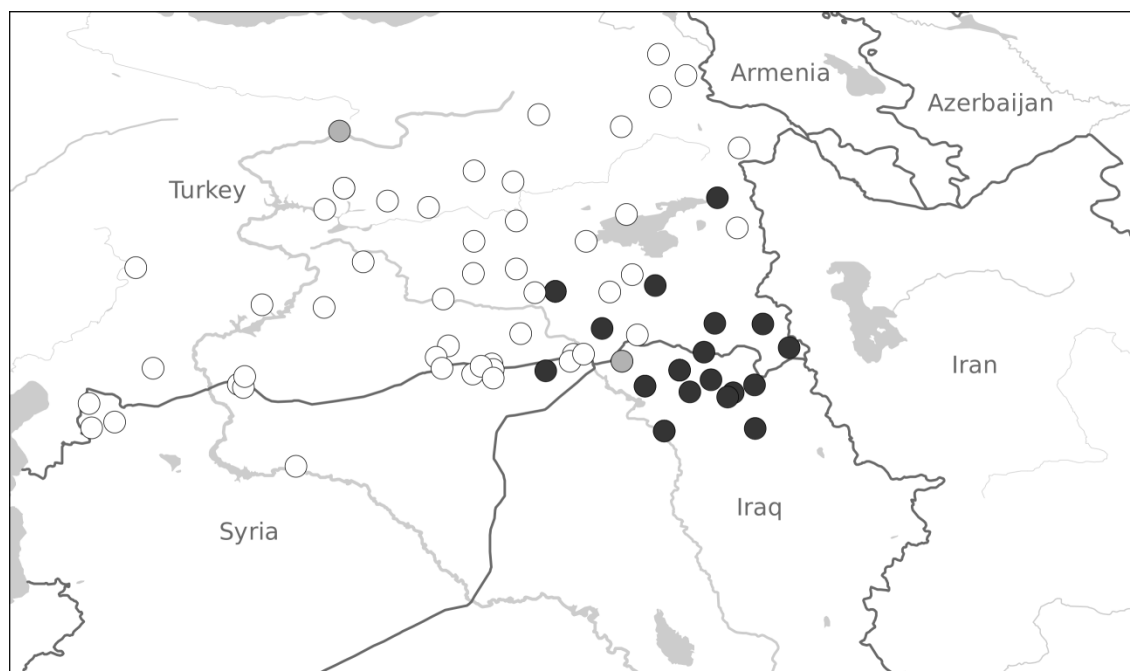*Yesterday I did not buy any of the books you told **me** about*

Fig. 5: Post-predicate Addressee arguments in the DKD (Matras et al 2016), based on the sentences in (34), Northern Kurdish only

Fig. 5 reveals that there is an areal clustering of post-predicate Addressees in the southeast of Northern Kurdish, while most of the dialects of Turkey and Syria prefer pre-predicate position. Thus Addressees of 'say/tell' pattern differently to Goals of verbs of motion, or Recipients of 'give', which are consistently post-predicate (Sections 3.2 and 3.3). Northern Kurdish is thus basically split into two regions, one approximately corresponding to Öpengin & Haig's (2014) 'Southeastern Kurmanjî', versus the rest.

4.2   The interaction of word order and flagging with Addressees

With Addressees of 'say/tell', it is not only linear position that varies, but also flagging of the Addressee argument. The four most important means for flagging Addressees are provided in (35), and illustrated in examples (36)-(39).

(35) FLAGGING OF ADDRESSEES IN NORTHERN KURDISH

BARE (no adposition, but generally with directional particle on the verb), cf. (36)

PREPOSITION, cf. (37)

CIRCUMPOSITION, cf. (38)

POSTPOSITION, cf. (39)

(36) *ewê*   *got=e*   ***min***

3SG.OBL.F   tell.PST.3SG=DRCT   1SG.OBL

'She said to me' [KO78, Şemzînan]

(37) *min*   *got*   ***bo***   ***wî***

1SG.OBL   tell.PST.3SG   to   3SG.OBL.M

'I said to him' [KO19, Shekhan]

(38) *min*   ***ji***   ***wî=ra***   *go*

1SG.OBL   ADP   3SG.OBL.M=ADP   tell.PST.3SG

'I said to him' [KO91, Bingöl]

(39) *mi*   ***wî=rra***   *go*

1SG.OBL   3SG.OBL=ADP   tell.PST.3SG

'I said to her' [KO22, Elbistan]

There are reasons to simplify the four-way classification given in (35). First, if we assume that the 'bare' type historically arises from a prepositional phrase, with the preposition now reduced to the directional particle on the predicate, then we could collapse 'bare' and prepositional to a single type, Prepositional. This move is also motivated by the fact that the directional particle is in complementary distribution with an overt preposition, thus is absent in (37). Second, the difference between circumposition and postpositional hinges on whether the pre-verbal particle *ji* is phonetically realized or not. In rapid speech, it may assimilate to the initial segment of the noun, thus making the distinction difficult to draw. It seems evident that the postpositional variant must have arisen in this manner from the circumpositional variant, so the two can be

considered variants of a single type. Thus we arive at two types, a prepositional type (36) and (37), and postpositional type (38) and (39).

When we consider the position of these two types relative to the predicate, it is evident that the postpositional type correlates with pre-predicate syntax, while the prepositional type correlates with post-predicate syntax, as shown in Table 1:

	POSITION	
FLAGGING TYPE	PRE-PREDICATE	POST-PREDICATE
PREPOSITIONAL	-	✓
POSTPOSITIONAL	✓	-

Table 1: The correlation of flagging type and position, Addressees of 'say/tell' in Northern Kurdish

The association of postpositional flagging and pre-predicate position appears to be categorical; no variety has been identified that uses post- or circumpositions to flag the Addressee, and places it consistently in post-predicate position. Thus we can formulate an initial constraint regarding the correlation of flagging with position as follows:

(40) Addressees of 'say/tell' which are circumpositional, or postpositional, cannot occur
      in post-predicate position.

It would be tempting to extend (40) to cover circum- and postpositional arguments generally, but we have already encountered post-predicate circumpositional arguments, for example in Dohuk Kurmanjî example (8), repeated here for convenience:

(8)   *min*   *nan*   *kir=e*   *di*   *firin-ê*   *da*
       1SG.OBL   bread   do.PST=DRCT   ADP   oven-F.OBL   ADP
       'I put the bread *into the oven*'

Thus for local Goals at least, post-predicate circumpositional arguments are possible, so we must restrict the domain of (40) to Addressees for the time being.

The reverse generalization, namely, that prepositional Addressees cannot occur pre-predicatively, would appear to be warranted if we only consider the examples (36)-(39) above. However, it turns out not to be valid. If we extend the survey to Central Kurdish, it becomes apparent that the neat matching of head-directionality in the PP and the VP breaks down. The type 'preposition, in pre-predicate position', which is strongly dispreferred in Northern Kurdish, is regularly attested in Central Kurdish, both in the Mukri texts of Öpengin (2016) and the Suleimaniye texts of MacKenzie (1962). In these texts, 'say/tell' is a highly frequent verb, but it generally introduces direct speech, with no overt expression of the Addressee (which must be inferred from the context). In the few examples with an overt Addressee, it is generally pre-predicate, and prepositional (41-43). Post-positional placement is also attested, but a cursory inspection of these texts indicates that it is not the normal option. The preposition used is uniformly *ba/be* (the apparent vowel differences reflect the respective transcription practices, and are not relevant).

(41) *šā ʔebās=īš*   ***be***   ***wezīr-eke=y***   *kut*

      King Abbas=ADD   to   Vizier-DEF=3SG   say.PST.3SG

      'King Abbas too told **his vizier**' (Öpengin 2016: 256; čn.166)

(42) *la řēgā*   *birā gawra=yān*   ***ba***   ***birā pičūk=ī***   *wut*

      on_the_way   eldest_brother=3PL   to   youngest brother=3SG   say.PST.3SG

      'On the way their eldest brother said **to the youngest**'

      (MacKenzie 1962: 18; par. 42)

(43) ***ba***   ***pāšā***   *bi-łē-n*

      to   King   say.IMP.PL

      'Tell **the King**!' (MacKenzie 1962: 32; par. 76)

Thus the possibility of prepositional Addressees in pre-predicate position, though apparently very rare in Northern Kurdish, is evidently the norm for at least some varieties of Central Kurdish. We cannot therefore formulate a general constraint ruling out pre-predicate prepositional Addressees, in analogy to the general constraint against post-predicate,

postpositional Addressees (40). In Section 5 below we consider possible reasons for this asymmetry.

4.3   Summary of Addressees of 'say/tell'

To conclude the findings for Addressees, Fig. 5 reveals an areal clustering of post-predicate position in the southeastern varieties of Northern Kurdish, while pre-predicate position is the norm in most of Turkey and Syria. Essentially, southeasterly varieties of Northern Kurdish treat Addressees in the same manner as Goals and Recipients, while the rest of Northern Kurdish treats them like PLACE and other OBLIQUEs. We also observe that the position of the argument correlates with the type of flagging, with prepositional flagging associated with post-predicate position, and postpositional flagging with pre-predicate position. The latter in fact appears to be a pan-Kurdish universal, at least for Addressees. When we extend the investigation to Central Kurdish, however, an additional type becomes apparent, namely prepositional Addressee in pre-predicate position (41)-(43).

Before closing this section, an important point must be addressed. The syntax associated with 'say/tell' (*gotin* and cognates) is verb specific. Addressees of other verbs of speech pattern rather differently. In this sense, then, the term 'Addressee' is somewhat misleading. Compare the Addressees of the translational equivalent of English 'speak', with those of 'say/tell' in Zakho (44-45), and in Şırnak (46-47):

(44) *min*　　**gel**　　　**wî**　　　　*ne-axift*

　　　to　　　with　　　3SG.OBL.M　　NEG-speak.PST.3SG

　　　'I didn't speak **with him**' [KO20 Zakho]

(45) min　　**got=e**　　　　　　**wî**

　　　to　　　say.PST.3SG=DRCT　　3SG.OBL.M

　　　'I said **to him**' [KO20 Zakho]

(46) *bi*　　　**wî**　　　　**re**　　*ne-şitexlî-m*

　　　ADP　　3SG.OBL.M　　adp　　NEG-speak.PST-1SG

　　　'I didn't speak **with him**' [K009 Şırnak]

(47) min **got = e** **wî**

to say.PST.3SG = DRCT 3SG.OBL.M

'I said **to him**' [K009 Şırnak]

In both dialects, the Addressee of 'speak' is in pre-predicate position, while that of 'say/tell' is post-predicate. Furthermore, in Zakho we find a prepositional complement, while Şırnak has a circumpositional complement. I believe these differences are ultimately rooted in the Aktionsart of the verbs concerned: whereas 'speak' and similar predicates involve an unbounded and non-directed activity, 'say/tell' involves a directed, telic event that implies an endpoint: the completed delivery of some verbal content. If that is the case, then 'say/tell' will tend to pattern like other endpoint-predicates such as 'give', or verbs of motion and caused motion, hence will favour post-predicate position.

The question then arises as to why in many dialects of Northern Kurdish and in some varieties of Central Kurdish not all Addressees of 'say/tell' are post-predicate. There is no obvious answer to this except an appeal to the fairly abstract connection between 'say/tell' and the semantics of endpoints. While for Goals of verbs of motion, and recipients of 'give', the conceptual proximity to spatial endpoints is fairly transparent, it is less so for Addressees of 'say/tell'. Hence we find the placement of Addressees of 'say/tell' varies from dialect to dialect, with some treating it like other obliques (e.g. PLACE), while other dialects treat the Addressee of 'say/tell' like the Recipient of 'give'.

5   Explanations

5.1   Synchronic approaches

The position of non-direct objects vis-à-vis the verb has received comparatively little attention in the typological literature. One of the exceptions is Hawkins (2008), who points to an asymmetry between OV and VO languages: Generally, VO languages retain the post-predicate position of other arguments, i.e. various kinds of obliques follow the predicate, just as the the object does, with the order VOX as the vastly preferred option (based on the data in WALS). For OV languages, on the other hand, no obvious preference is discernible. XOV occurs in 43% of the sample, OXV in 22% and OVX in 35% (Hawkins 2008: 169-170).

Hawkins' advances an explanation in terms of processing ease associated with different kinds of word order. It is nevertheless important to note that Hawkins (2008) is exclusively concerned

with non-direct objects ('X') in **transitive** clauses (i.e. clauses that also contain an O). He has nothing to say on word order in intransitive clauses, such as verbs of motion. Thus his processing-based line of explanation is really only relevant for transitive clauses with additional post-predicate arguments in Kurdish, i.e. with verbs of caused motion (e.g. (30) or (31) above), or with recipients of 'give', but are irrelevant for the verbs of motion etc.

Based on the global distribution of OVX patterns, Hawkins notes that those languages that display such a constellation are generally languages that have overall a greater number of head-initial phrase-orderings. Thus the OV languages with OVX ordering have more frequently prepositions rather than postpositions, N-Adj rather than Adj-N, N-Gen rather than Gen-N, and have postposed CPs headed by initial complementizers. Furthermore, they are exclusively N-Rel as opposed to Rel-N. Finally, Hawkins points to another characteristic of OVX languages, namely the frequent clause-initial position of an auxiliary verb (Hawkins 2008: 185). Although Kurdish was not one of the languages of the sample, all these characteristics carry over to Kurdish. Like the majority of other attested OVX languages, Kurdish confirms the tendency for OVX languages to be "more head-initial and have head ordering correlations more like those of VO." (Hawkins 2008: 183)

Turning now to the relationship of flagging type with position of the constituent relative to the predicate, we noted an interesting constraint with Addressees of 'say/tell': prepositional, circumpositional and postpositional flagging are all attested for these constituents, and both pre-predicate and post-predicate position are likewise attested. However, no variety permits post- or circumpositional phrases to occur in post-predicate position. On the assumption that the Addressee of 'say/tell' belongs to the VP, the available options for Kurdish can be schematically illustrated as follows:

(48) Flagging type and position for Addressees of 'say/tell'

   a. $[[Prep \ \ NP]_{PP} \ \ V]_{VP}$

   b. $[V \ [Prep \ NP]_{PP}]_{VP}$

   c. $[[NP \ Postp]_{PP} \ \ V]_{VP}$

   d. $*[V \ [NP \ Postp]_{PP}]_{VP}$

Hawkins' (2007) processing-based account predicts that both (48a) and (48d) would be dispreferred, because in both, the head of the embedded adpositional phrase is not directly adjacent to the governing V. These configurations are, according to Hawkins (2007: 124), cross-linguistically vastly less frequent than (48b) and (48c), a fact that he relates to the differences in relative processing efficiency. Looking at the Addressee data across Kurdish, however, we note that it is only (48d) which is unattested, while (48a) is attested in Central Kurdish (cf. 41-43), though it is perhaps the least common of the available possibilities. But Hawkins's processing-based account offers no explanation for the difference between (48a) and (48d) that we find in Kurdish.

Recently, an alternative approach to word-order has been developed, which is particularly concerned with to the relationship of head/dependent ordering within nested phrases. This line of research has focussed on what is known as the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC). The FOFC has been developed in a number of papers since the early 2000's, see Sheehan (2013) and Biberauer (2017) for discussion and references. The basic observation can be summed up as follows (Sheehan 2013):

(49) The Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC)
If α is a head-initial phrase and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β must be head-initial. If α is a head-final phrase, and β is a phrase immediately dominating α, then β can be head-initial or head-final.

The idea behind the FOFC is summed up in Biberauer, Newton & Sheehan (2009: 702) less formally as follows: "While a head-final phrase can be dominated by either a head-final or head-initial phrase, a head-initial phrase cannot be dominated by a head-final phrase". The idea, then, is that head-initial phrases are more constrained with regard to the type of phrase they may be embedded under, while head-final phrases tolerate different kinds of dominating phrase.

Not all phrase types display FOFC effects to the same extent. Perhaps the clearest examples involve auxiliary placement: the order V-O-Aux, where a head-initial VP is embedded in a head-final AuxP, is virtually unattested in the languages of the world.[6] However, adpositional order

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[6] The strength of this constraint depends on the nature of the auxiliary. When it is an uninflected particle, violations may occur. When it is an inflecting verb form, the order V-O-Aux appears to be unattested.

does not strictly comply with the FOFC, and has often been left outside the purview of FOFC-related studies. Very recently Biberauer (2017) considers the apparent violations of FOFC in the realm of adpositions, for example the widespread presence of prepositional phrases in Persian (OV), and in those members of Germanic which have been analysed as OV. The focus of her paper is thus on pre-predicate prepositional phrases, and how the FOFC can be adapted to account for such structures. The details of her argument go beyond the present purposes, but essentially boil down to the claim that the FOFC only holds for elements that belong to the "same Extended Projection", and certain prepositional phrases under verbal heads do not qualify under the narrow definition of Extended Projection adopted by Biberauer (Biberauer 2017: 186-187).

The other aspect of OV languages that is unexpected concerns the post-verbal position of certain constituents, i.e. the OVX order already mentioned above. Biberauer notes that post-verbal constituents are frequently postpositional phrases, as in the following (see also (51) below from Mande).

(50) *Ay*   *ga*   *nooru*   *wiri*   *ay*   *baaba*   *ga*

1SG   IMPF   money   seek   1SG   father   POSTP

'I will seek money from my father.' (Koyraboro Senni, Biberauer 2017: 195, citing Heath 1999: 139)

Biberauer (2017: 196) takes up Hawkins's (2008) observation concerning languages with OVX ordering, namely that they are overwhelmingly OV languages that display structural traits typical of VO languages:

"[...] obligatory PP-extraposition in OV-languages is characteristic of OVX-type OV languages, which are "minimally OV", exhibiting many traits found in VO languages, i.e. there is an independent reason why we see PP-extraposition in the relevant languages, one which is not in force in more fundamentally OV languages".

With reference to Kurdish, we have already noted that postposing of adpositional phrases is common (and indeed obligatory) for many kinds of non-object argument in Kurdish. But the relevant PPs are generally not postpositional phrases, but prepositional phrases. As illustrated

above for Addressees of 'say/tell' in Kurdish, where circum- or postpositional complements are possible, they are systematically avoided in post-predicate position (though circumpositional phrases are permitted in post-predicate position for other types of argument, cf. (8) above). In general then, the modified version of the FOFC adopted in Biberauer (2017) does not offer a convincing explanation for the general dispreference of post-verbal postpositional phrases, coupled with the freedom of pre-verbal prepositional phrases, that can be observed in Kurdish.

However, the fact that prepositional phrases are often post-posed in Kurdish can be seen as a kind of FOFC-compliance strategy, if we take a somewhat laxer approach to the FOFC as a general dispreference for head-initial phrases occurring prior to their governing head. Biberauer is certainly correct that the rough classification into pre-, circum- and postpositional phrases is a best a superficial pre-theoretical taxonomy, and closer attention to the internal structure of PP's in Kurdish would be a promising avenue to further our understanding of the interplay of phrase type and constituent order. We concur with Biberauer (2017: 196) that "OVX systems clearly merit much closer attention than has been the case to date".

We have briefly considered Hawkins' typological findings on OVX languages, and some of the findings related to the FOFC (Biberauer 2017). Both authors converge on the observation that the attested OVX languages typically exhibit other head-initial structures, and this certainly applies to Kurdish, where most of the syntax is in fact head-initial. While Hawkins' approach does predict the lack of post-predicate post-positional phrases, the formulation of the FOFC in Biberauer (2017) leads to the expectation of such structures (i.e. [V [NP Postp]$_{PP}$]$_{VP,}$ as opposed to [[Prep NP]$_{PP}$ V]$_{VP}$). But in fact we find the latter very widespread throughout Kurdish, and with different kinds of PP, while the former is ruled out except for circumpositional phrases with motion semantics (see (8) above).

It is worth noting that neither Hawkins (2008), nor Biberauer (2017), have anything to say on the central issue in Kurdish, namely the semantics of post-predicate constituents. I have repeatedly pointed to the fact that post-predicate position is reserved for phrases exhibiting endpoint semantics, or a metaphorical exension thereof. Furthermore, this feature cuts across both the transitive / intransitive / ditransitive distinction, and also seems largely impervious to the argument/adjunct dichotomy.

In the case of post-predicate constituents in Kurdish, there seems to be a rather direct association of linear position with semantics, which is difficult to model within the tradition of Mainstream Generative Grammar. Constructional approaches to syntax, which assume surface

structure to directly encode semantic distinctions, are in a better position to deal with the Kurdish phenomena. In Construction Grammar, a particular syntactic structure directly encodes meaning, "a family of closely related senses" (Goldberg 1995: 31). Thus argument positions are not exclusively projected from the verb's argument structure (the lexicalist position), via derivational processes such as movement, or Merge, but are directly associated with surface forms. Currently, a theoretically articulated model of Kurdish syntax that would accomodate these issues is not available.

6 The diachronics of OVX order in Kurdish

From whatever perspective we view them, the word-order facts of Kurdish are undoubtedly unusual. It is reasonable therefore to inquire into the diachronic processes that have given rise to the current configuration. In this section I will first consider the line of explanation that has put forward by Nikitina (2011) to account for OVX word order in the Mande languages. In the second part of this section, I will briefly sketch some proposals for Kurdish.

6.1   OVX through the inheritance of nominal syntax (Nikitina 2011)

In Mande languages, spoken in several countries in West Africa, and arguably assignable to the Niger-Congo phylum languages, direct objects precede the verb, but "all other arguments and adjuncts follow it." (Nikitina 2011: 251). The following example is from Soso (Central Mande, Creissels 2005):

(51)   ń   nìngéé   fíí-mà   **í**   má

     1SG   cow   give-FUT   2SG   to

     'I will give **you** a cow' (Nikitina 2011: 252)

Essentially, the rule is that all adpositional constituents must follow the verb, regardless of the argument vs. adjunct status. Thus the recipient of 'give' in (51) follows the verb, because it is adpositional, while the direct object 'cow', which lacks any adposition, must precede the verb. Nikitina argues that the post-verbal adpositional phrases are in fact outside the VP, and are therefore necessarily extraposed. The VP is in a sense defective, in that it can only properly contain a single argument, the non-adpositional direct object.

This structural constraint is related to a similar one that obtains for NPs. In Mande, only one kind of nominal complement is possible within the NP, namely prenominal possessors. Adpositional phrases, on the other hand, cannot be accomodated within NPs. Nikitina notes: "The restriction on postpositional modification of nouns parallels, rather suggestively, the restriction on combining postpositional phrases with verbs: neither noun phrases nor verb phrases can accommodate a postpositional phrase." (Nikitina 2011: 256)

According to Nikitina (2011), contemporary Mande VP-structure arose through the re-analysis of originally non-finite syntax, involving deverbal nouns. The contemporary VP inherited the constraint against phrase-internal adpositional phrases that was, and still is, characteristic of NP structure. Nikitina (2011) thus relates the OVX structure of the VP to the diachronic origin of verbs as reflexes of "deverbal nouns". In a structure involving an auxiliary, such as (52), the lexical verb is originally a deverbal noun, and the auxiliary derives from a form of 'come'. Thus originally it must have been something like 'I come to eating something'. The NP headed by the deverbal noun is ultimately reanalysed as a VP, but preserves the ordering of the original NP.

(52)   ŋ̀   zòŋ   pɓ̄   lɓ́-ŋ

       1SG   AUX.PROSP   thing   eat-PROSP

       'I am going to eat' (Wan, Nikitina 2011: 257)

Could such an account be applicable to Kurdish? Superficially, there are certain parallels. One pertains to the position of the auxiliary in Northern Kurdish, where we find an identical surface structure to the Aux-O-V structure of Mande illustrated in (52) above:[7]

(53)   *Ez*   *dê*   *tişt-ek-î*   *bi-xo-m*

       1SG   AUX.FUT   thing-INDEF-OBL.M   SUBJ-eat.PRS-1SG

       'I am going to eat something' (Northern Kurdish, Muş dialect)

Despite the superficial parallels, I nevertheless consider that OVX in Kurdish has different origins to that of Mande. First of all, although verb forms based on the past stem in Kurdish,

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[7] The future auxiliary in Kurmanjî is most likely a grammaticalized 3sg present-tense form of *vîyan* 'be necessary, be desirous'.

and indeed most of Western Iranian, do indeed go back to nominal forms (participles, Haig 2008), the same is not true of verbs based on the present-stem, which are a reasonably direct continuation of Old Iranian finite verbs. If the OVX word order in Kurdish was related to a nominal origin of the verbs, we would expect distinct verb orders in past and present tenses, but this does not seem to be the case, or at least has never been demonstrated. Second, post-predicate vs. pre-predicate position is not just a matter of adpositional versus non-adpositional flagging. As was demonstrated in Section 2-4 above, many adpositional complements do occur pre-verbally. It is only endpoint-related arguments that do not. Furthermore, in the northerly dialect of Northern Kurdish, post-predicate arguments often have no trace of any adposition. Thus although Nikitina's explanation of OVX order appears to be convincing for Mande, it is doubtful whether it can be applied to Kurdish.

6.2   The diachrony of OVX word order in Kurdish

Because Kurdish lacks historical attestation beyond about the sixteenth century, we are obliged to extrapolate from available evidence from attested Middle and Old Iranian languages in order to reconstruct a plausible pathway towards OVX syntax for endpoint constituents in Kurdish. Examples of endpoint-constituents from Middle Iranian are provided in (54) (Goal of caused motion) and (55) (Addressee of 'say/tell', and Goal of self-directed motion):

(54) *ud* *tigr* **ō** **ān** *čīdāg* *ēw* *wīhēd*
      and   arrow   to   that   cairn   EXH   let.shoot.3SG
      'may he shoot that arrow **at that cairn**'
      (Middle Persian, šabuhr I at Hajiabad, Skjærvø 2009: 267)

(55) **ō**   **man**   *guft*
      to   me   say.PST.3SG

      čē *rāy* *ne* *hē* *šud* *ō* *xwēš* *šahr*
      what for   NEG   AUX.2SG go   to   self   country
      'He said **to me**: Why have you not gone **to your country**?'
      (Middle Persian, Turfan, Durkin Meisterernst 2014: 409)

All the endpoint constituents in these examples are flagged through prepositions, two are pre-predicate and the last is post-predicate. While a systematic survey for Middle Iranian is not available, my impression is that (i) prepositional flagging is the norm, and (ii) pre-predicate position is the preferred option. The very provisional nature of these observations notwithstanding, I would tentatively conclude the following: the source construction in Old and Middle Iranian for constituents expressing endpoints involved pre-predicate position, and prepositional flagging, but extra-position behind the predicate was an option. The frequency of such extraposition, and any regularities that it could be associated with, have never been investigated.

If we assume that this was the point of departure, the first stage in the development towards the current state must have involved increasing extraposition of endpoint arguments. We know something about the relative frequencies of different endpoint arguments in post-predicate position in contemporary West Iranian languages (Haig 2014, 2017, Stilo 2018), and working on this basis, the following assumption seems reasonable: extraposition of endpoint arguments would have initially affected Recipients of verbs of giving, and Goals of verbs of (caused) motion; these are the two types most widely-attested across West Iranian, and universally found across Kurdish. In Old Iranian, Recipients were not adpositionally flagged but case-marked (Dative or Genitive/Dative), while Goals could be case-marked, or prepositionally flagged. Posposing these kinds of arguments would then yield non-adpositionally flagged post-verbal Recipients, and post-verbal Goals with or without adpositions. Interestingly, this is the pattern still observable in Northern Kurdish, where post-verbal Recipients are case-marked, and lack an adposition, while Goals vary. A development that is observable within Kurdish itself is the attenuation of the prepositional flagging of some post-verbal arguments, leaving a trace in the form of 'directional particle', cliticized to the verb, in some varieties of Northern Kurdish. While all of Kurdish has fairly consistent post-predicate placement of Goals and Recipients, there is variation in the extent that this pattern has spread to other kinds of argument associated with endpoint-semantics (see Sections 3-4 above).

The Addressee of 'say/tell' also underwent changes in some, but not all, varieties of Kurdish. I assume that Addressee arguments were originally prepositionally marked, and pre-predicate; this is the construction shown in the first part of the Middle Iranian example (55), and still found in the Mukri dialect of Central Kurdish, e.g. in (41). In other varieties of Kurdish, two distinct and mutually exclusive changes occurred. The first is that the pre-predicate, and

prepositionally-flagged Addressees were increasingly postposed, yielding the pattern widely found in the southeastern varieties of Northern Kurdish. This change is completely analogous to that which affected Goals and Recipients outlined above. A different change occurred in the dialects further north. Here the Addressee remained in pre-predicate position, but its flagging shifted to circumpositional, or post-positional. Thus these dialects distinguish syntactically between Addressees of 'say/tell', and Recipients of 'give'.

A similar split is noted for Vafsi, where Stilo (2010) contrasts the position of Recipients of 'give' with the Addressee of 'say/tell'. The results are provided in Table 2, which takes only the figures for Vafs-Dialect, Folk Tales, into account. Absolute figures are not provided.

	X-V	V-X
GIVE	6%	94%
SAY/TELL	100%	0%

Table 2: Percentages of pre- and post-predicate placement of Recipients and Addressees in Vafsi (Stilo 2010)

Because post-predicate placement of Addressees is not universal in Kurdish, and likewise not in other contemporary Iranian languages, my assumption is that it is a diachronically later development, restricted to certain varieties. Extra-posing of Goals and Recipients, on the other hand, appears to be a universal tendency, though with differing degrees of obligatoriness. We noted in Section 2 two other types of post-predicate arguments in Behdinî: Final states of inchoatives ('become, turn into'), and the light verb complements of certain types of complex predicates. The latter appears to be a rare development, which I have not encountered outside of Behdinî.

What triggered the word-order shifts in Kurdish matter of speculation. Haig (2014, 2017) suggests Aramaic influence in the formative periods of Kurdish. We know, for example, that Turkic languages under contact influence with Iranian languages likewise exhibit post-predicate Goals and Recipients (Bulut 2007, 2018, Reetz 2014), so contact influence in this respect is not implausible. Two other factors are worth considering. One is an effect of iconicity: all other things being equal, semantic endpoints may be the preferred clausal endpoints (it is noteworthy that in other OV languages, most of the post-posing of arguments also includes Goals, see Haig

(2014) for discussion). The second possible factor in the postposing of endpoint-arguments could have been a FOFC-compliance effect (see preceding section): across the world's languages, prepositional verbal arguments are preferably post-predicate.

The observations for Kurdish are summed up in (56) in the form of a hierarchy of post-posability (for a similar account of West Iranian generally, see Haig and Khan 2018).

(56) Hierarchy of constituent types in post-predicate position

MOST LIKELY POST-PREDICATE

Goal of verbs of motion and caused motion / recipient of *dan* 'give'

Addressee of *gotin*

Other obliques, light verb complements

(Direct objects, copular complements)

LEAST LIKELY POST-PREDICATE
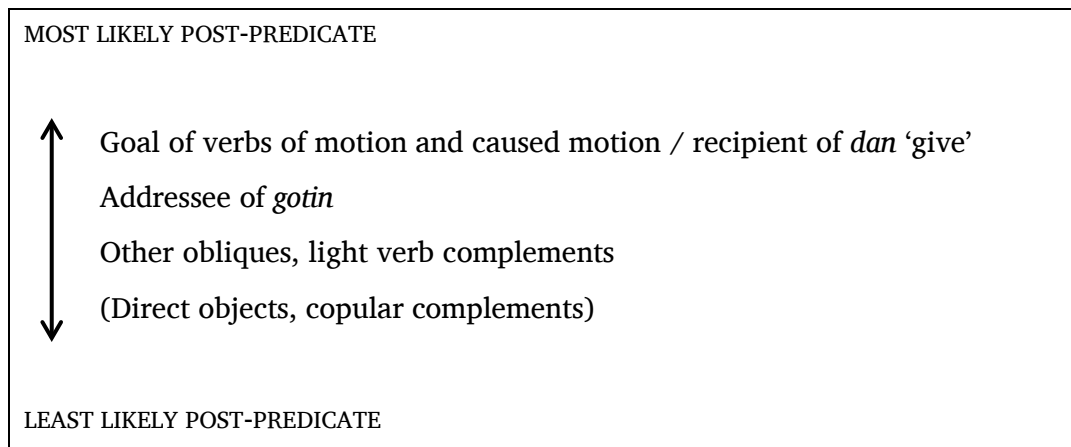
Note that this hierarchy is similar (though not identical) to Stilo's (2018) overview from different language families in the Iran-Araxes linguistic area, and also Frommer's (1981) hierarchy of post-positional elements in spoken colloquial Persian. In Persian, however, post-predicate position is a statistical tendency rather than a grammatical rule. It can nevertheless hardly be coincidence that the frequency patterns observed in colloquial spoken Persian match very closely the grammaticalized nature of post-predicate syntax in Kurdish. Note that throughout we find that the items most resistant to post-predicate position are direct objects, and copular complements. My informal observation of colloquial Behdinî does in fact show sporadic post-posing of direct objects, which may be suggestive of a more far-reaching shift in the syntax of these (strongly Arabic-influenced) varieties, but this remains to be investigated.

7 Conclusions

This contribution has combined data from the DKD with data from other sources on Kurdish and West Iranian languages, and considered them in the light of language typology and diachronic syntax. Throughout the focus has been on lexical noun phrases, rather than pronominal constituents; the syntax of the latter may vary considerably from that of lexical noun phrases, and would merit an investigation in its own right. The main conclusions are the following:

- Post-predicate position of certain types of constituent is determined by syntactic rule, not by optional, pragmatic considerations. The Kurdish verb phrase actually splits into a pre- and a post-verbal domain, informally captured by the OVX formula.

- The nature of the arguments that occur post-predicatively appears to be linked to the semantics of endpoints. It cannot be circumscribed through reference to a particular grammatical relation (e.g. 'indirect object'), nor with reference to a particular transitivity class. In this respect, Kurdish word order appears to reflect semantics in a fairly direct way.

- Within Kurdish, post-predicate placement of endpoint arguments is consistent across the vast majority of dialects (Figs. 3 and 4), with minor exceptions on the southeastern peripheries, while non-endpoint arguments (e.g. PLACE) are overwhelmingly preferred in the pre-predicate position (cf. Figs. 1 and 2).

- Within Northern Kurdish, the treatment of Addressees of 'say/tell' constitutes the major areal isogloss. Broadly speaking, a post-verbal, prepositional type characterizes Southeastern Kurmanjî (Haig and Öpengin 2018), while the rest of Kurmanjî has a pre-verbal post- or circumpositional type (Fig. 5). However, a third type with pre-predicate, prepositional Addressees can also be observed in Central Kurdish (41-43).

- Two accounts of OVX word order were examined, the processing approach of Hawkins (2008) and the Final-over-Final-Constraint (Biberauer 2017). Both converge on the conclusion that OVX languages are typically those with a large number of head-initial phrase types, an observation that is readily applicable to Kurdish, but neither predicts the constraint on post-predicate, post-positional phrases that appears to be operative in Kurdish.

- Diachronically, I suggest that post-predicate constituents in Kurdish must have originated through an increase in frequency of an already available option for post-posing case-marked and prepositionally-marked endpoint arguments. In Kurdish, high frequency actually translates into the grammaticalization of this position. Factors that contributed to the increase in post-posing may have been (i) effects of iconicity; (ii) avoidance of an FoFC-violation (pre-predicate prepositional phrases); (iii) contact with languages that generally place prepositionally-marked endpoint arguments post-predicatively (Aramaic, Arabic).

- The findings from Kurdish generally match those for other West Iranian language regarding the nature of post-predicate elements. Goals of (caused) motion, and Recipients of 'give' are the ones that recur across West Iranian, and are characteristic of the entirety of Kurdish. Addressees of 'say/tell' exhibit variant word-orders, a fact that likewise characterizes Kurdish. It is evident that we are dealing with a feature that extends beyond Kurdish to most of West Iranian, suggesting changes of some antiquity.

- Areally, there appears to be a hot-spot, roughly in the region of North Iraq / Southeast Turkey, while Iranian languages further north (e.g. the Caspian) and further East (e.g. Turkmen Balochi) have significantly fewer constituents in post-predicate position. This may reflect influence from Aramaic and Arabic, but this remains speculative. Within Northern Kurdish itself, this areal fade-out from the southeast to the northwest can be observed, with dialects of the northern periphery having for example pre-predicate Addressees, while the dialect of Dohuk has extended post-predicate syntax to some types of light verb complements (Section 2.6).

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